

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 019755
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/E:KPGARLAND:JJ
APPROVED BY AF:RMMOOSE
S/S-O TGMARTIN

-----127881 250357Z /65

O 250312Z JAN 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 019755

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ET, US

SUBJECT: AYALEW CALL ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

1. ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR AYALEW MANDEFRO CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE JANUARY 23 TO DISCUSS HORN CONFLICT AND US-ETHIOPIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP ATTENDED. MOOSE OPENED THE MEETING BY NOTING HE WAS SURPRISED AT TENOR OF RECENT REMARKS BY AYALEW AFTER PRESIDENT'S WRITTEN MESSAGE TO CONGRESS WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS RECOGNIZED AT HIGHEST LEVEL THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 019755

INTEGRITY BY STATING USWILL NOT RECOGNIZE FORCIBLE CHANGES IN BOUNDARIES. HE NOTED THAT WE HAVE NOT CONDEMNED SOMALI AGGRESSION BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO MAINTAIN SOME INFLUENCE ON THE OTHER PARTY TO THE CONFLICT. OUR EFFORTS HAVE BEEN CONCENTRATED ON TRYING TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED, ASSISTANT SECRETARY ADDED.

2. MOOSE NOTED THAT ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT AND EVEN AYALEW HIMSELF IN RECENT STATEMENTS HAD STARTED TO SPEAK OF U.S. AS ETHIOPIA'S ENEMY. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT SEE OURSELVES IN THIS LIGHT. WE ARE NOT EVEN FRIENDS OF

ETHIOPIA'S ENEMY. HOWEVER, IF ETHIOPIA BEGINS TO CUT ITS TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, THESE ATTACKS COULD BECOME SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECIES. IT WOULD BECOME MORE DIFFICULT DOMESTICALLY FOR US TO MAINTAIN OUR POLICY OF RESTRAINT. MOOSE NOTED THIS ARGUMENT MIGHT HAVE LITTLE EFFECT IN ADDIS BECAUSE SOME IN EPMG WANT TO CUT TIES WITH WEST. HE OPINED THAT SUCH MOVES WOULD OBVIOUSLY DEFEAT ETHIOPIA'S EFFORTS TO FOLLOW A NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN POLICY AND HOPED RECENT ACTION AGAINST FRG AMBASSADOR NOT THE START OF A CHAIN REACTION. NOTING AYALEW WAS ABOUT TO RETURN TO ADDIS FOR CONSULTATIONS, MOOSE SAID HE WAS SEARCHING FOR ARGUMENT TO GIVE AMBASSADOR TO CARRY BACK. HE SUGGESTED AYALEW COULD WARN EPMG THAT CARRYING ETHIOPIAN ARGUMENT TO EXTREME WOULD GREATLY INCREASE PRESSURE IN THE WEST TO ARM SOMALIA. THIS ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT WANT TO DO SO AND IS RESISTING SUCH PRESSURE BUT A BREAK IN RELATIONS WOULD SEVERELY COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS.

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY THEN REMARKED ON CONCERN OF AYALEW AND EPMG OVER FIVE-POWER MEETING HELD JANUARY 21
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 019755

IN DEPARTMENT ON HORN. MOOSE EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS NOT IN RESPONSE TO SIAD BARRE'S RECENT APPEAL TO SAME FIVE COUNTRIES. HE SAID IT HAD LONG BEEN PLANNED IN PRINCIPLE AND THE TIMING WAS CONDITIONED ON THE PRESENCE IN US OF OFFICIALS FROM TWO OF THOSE COUNTRIES FOR TALKS ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION. IN ANY EVENT, FIVE-POWER MEETING CONCENTRATED ON PROBLEMS OF GETTING NEGOTIATIONS STARTED. EVERYONE RECOGNIZED THE POSITION ETHIOPIA HAS TAKEN BUT FEARED THAT THE TREND WAS TOWARD A MILITARY SOLUTION. THE US FOR ITS PART WAS TRYING TO FIND A NON-MILITARY SOLUTION. MR. HARROP NOTED THAT SUBJECT OF SIAD BARRE'S APPEAL TOOK LESS THAN ONE MINUTE AT END OF EIGHT-HOUR MEETING. WE HAD ANSWERED IT EARLIER ANYWAY WITH FLAT REFUSAL.

4. AYALEW EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THIS AS HE HAD HEARD MEETING WAS DESIGNED FIND WAY TO STOP COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OR - IN VIEW HE HIMSELF FOUND FAR-FETCHED - TO EXPLORE WHAT TYPE OF INTERVENTION COULD BE MADE A LA MOROCCO AND ZAIRE. AMBASSADOR THEN STATED PROBLEM OFTEN WAS NOT SUBSTANCE OF U.S. ACTIONS BUT THEIR FORM WHICH TROUBLES EPMG. HE EMPHASIZED EPMG WAS MILITARY GOVERN-

MENT AND THAT CIVILIAN CABINET HAD ONLY AN ADVISORY
ROLE. THE SOLDIERS IN THE DIRG ARE NOT SOPHISTICATED AND
CANNOT UNDERSTAND NUANCES. HENCE, ALTHOUGH MOOSE HAD
EXPLAINED SCHEDULING PROBLEMS, ETC. OF FIVE-POWER
MEETING, ITS TIMING LOOKED OMINOUS TO GOVERNMENT IN ADDIS
WHICH

CANNOT JUDGE, FOR EXAMPLE, DISTINCTION BETWEEN CAREFUL
POLITICAL STATEMENT AND IMPROVISED PRESS CONFERENCE
REPLY. THUS, TO AYALEW, IT WAS NOT SURPRISING THAT
FRG AMBASSADOR THROWN OUT WHEN FRG ADMITTED CREDITS
TO SOMALIA COULD BE USED TO BUY ARMS.

5. AMBASSADOR CONTINUED THAT HE HAD IMPRESSION MANY
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PAGE 04 STATE 019755

HERE FEEL CARTER OVERSTATED HIS VIEWS JANUARY 12 AND
PROBLEM WAS HOW TO MODIFY THEM. HE SAID HE HAS TAKEN
INITIATIVE IN ATTEMPT HELP REFOCUS U.S. STATEMENTS BY
SEEING BRZEZINSKI SINCE VANCE WAS OUT OF TOWN. HE
SAID EPMG GOAL WAS NOT TO THROW U.S. OUT OF ADDIS
BUT AGREED THERE WAS AN ELEMENT WHICH WANTS THIS. HOW-
EVER, MODERATES LIKE HIMSELF HAVE FOUGHT THIS TENDENCY.
--- THE FASTER ETHIOPIA CAN REGAIN THE OGADEN, HE
ADDED, THE FASTER WE CAN AGAIN BE TRULY NON-ALIGNED
AS WE WANT. HE NOTED THAT ETHIOPIA IS ON THE EDGE
OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND ONE CAN TALK GEOPOLITICS. BUT,
HE ASKED, MUST ETHIOPIA BE SACRIFICED TO EASE WORRIES
OF OTHERS OR CAN THE U.S. BE A STATESMAN-LIKE LEADER
AND AVOID THIS? DOES THE U.S. WANT TO JEOPARDIZE ITS
ROLE IN AFRICA TO HAVE A SOVIET-FREE INDIAN OCEAN? MUST
WE LISTEN SO MUCH TO SADAT, SHAH, SAUDIS? HE
CONCLUDED THAT ONE CANNOT UNDERESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE
OF RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN ETHIOPIA TODAY BUT IT MUST
NOT BE OVERINTERPRETED EITHER.
ETHIOPIA WILL AVOID RUSSIAN DOMINATION IN THE LONG RUN.

6. AYALEW THEN TURNED TO HIS PERSONAL SITUATION AND
ADVISED MOOSE THAT HE HAD RECEIVED CABLE TO RETURN
HOME FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THREE COLLEAGUES IN EUROPE.
THIS IS A SERIOUS SITUATION AS NONE OF THE FOUR KNOW
WHAT IS GOING ON IN ADDIS. AYALEW INTENDS TO LEAVE
FOR EUROPE JANUARY 25 BUT WILL TEST WATERS BEFORE RE-
TURNING TO ADDIS. HE NOTED ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR IN
PARIS HAD JUST RESIGNED RATHER THAN RETURN. AYALEW
STATED THAT HE WILL TOO IF HIS LIFE APPEARS IN DANGER. HE
WANTED, HOWEVER, BEFORE LEAVING TO BE SURE HE HAS
LEFT NO STONE UNTURNED IN U.S. GOVERNMENT TO MAKE EFFORT
PUT BEST FORM ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. AYALEW
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PAGE 05 STATE 019755

CONCLUDED THAT HE WOULD WORK TO END TO IMPROVE
U.S.-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS.

7. AFTER STATING APPRECIATION FOR AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS,
MOOSE ASKED WHAT IS PRIMARY CONCERN OF EPMG ABOUT U.S.
POLICY. IS THERE A FEAR THAT WE ARE GOING TO JUMP IN
AND AID SOMALIA? AYALEW SAID THAT WAS ONE FEAR AS
U.S. GOOD INTENTIONS DO NOT TRANSLATE INTO FORM. HE

NOTED THAT IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO PRESIDENT', REMARKS
DERIVES FROM HIS OFFICE. CAN
DEPARTMENT TELL HIM HE SHOULD COME OUT AND CONDEMN
SOMALIA AS AGGRESSOR? GIVEN ALL THAT PRESIDENT DID
SAY, HOW COULD EPMG MILITARY OFFICIAL THINK TILT WAS
ANYTHING BUT ANTI-ETHIOPIAN. AYALEW ADDED THAT
RUSSIANS AND CUBANS ARE ABLE TO "SALT AND PEPPER"
OUR STATEMENTS IN EYES OF MANY IN ADDIS BUT ONLY BECAUSE
OF THEIR AMBIGUITY. AT THIS POINT, MOOSE UNDER-
LINED PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ACCOMPANYING STATE OF UNION
ADDRESS AND ASKED IF THIS WAS NOT AN ADVANCE, NOTING
THAT WE ARE CURRENTLY RETHINKING OUR POLICY IN THE
HORN. AYALEW RETORTED THAT IT WAS PROGRESS BUT THAT
THIS WAS THE ELEVENTH HOUR OF HISTORY AND U.S. MUST ACT
NOW.

8. MOOSE ASKED IF HE UNDERSTOOD EPMG POSITION AS NO
NEGOTIATIONS NOW. AYALEW RESPONDED THAT WAS CASE AS
LONG AS SOMALIS ARE IN THE OGADEN. MOOSE NOTED THAT
FOR FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS TO TAKE PLACE AND BEAR FRUIT,
IT IS NECESSARY TO BEGIN STOCK-TAKING AND RETHINKING
OF PROBLEMS. IF SOME FORM OF REAL AUTONOMY WERE
POSSIBLE FOR THE OGADEN ALONG WITH SOME FORM OF
GUARANTEE FOR THE OGADENI AGAINST HARSH REPRISALS,
WE COULD SEE SOME INTERESTING POSSIBILITIES FOR
SETTLEMENT OF CRISIS. AYALEW AGREED AS LONG AS ONE
SEES OGADEN WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF ETHIOPIA. THIS IS
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PAGE 06 STATE 019755

IMPORTANT MATTER. AMBASSADOR SAID MORE STRESS
SHOULD BE PUT ON ETHIOPIAN FRAMEWORK THAN ON GUARANTEE.
PROBLEM WITH GUARANTEE IS THAT IT IMPLIES SOMEONE IS
LESS THAN TRUSTWORTHY. HE ADDED OPINION THAT GUARANTEE
WOULD BE FOUND WITHIN NATION-BUILDING IDEAL OF THE
ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION. HE HOPED WE WERE NOT REFERRING
TO A UN PEACEKEEPING TYPE EFFORT.

9. ASSISTANT SECRETARY NOTED WE WERE DEALING ALSO WITH ETHNIC PROBLEM IN OGADEN AND IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOMALIS TO PULL THEIR TROOPS OUT WITHOUT SOME GUARANTEE FOR THESE NOMADS. AYALEW SAW THIS AS EXCUSE PROLONG STATUS QUO AS THE SOMALIS KNOW THAT ANY IMPROVEMENT IN LIFE STYLE, CHANGE IN NOMADIC HABITS, OR CREATION OF AUTONOMOUS POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN OGADEN WILL WEAKEN OGADENIS' TIES WITH SOMALIA. AYALEW SAID IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO HOLD BACK ETHIOPIAN SOLDIERS WHEN COUNTERATTACK BEGINS BUT THE BEST GUARANTEE WILL COME IN THE BUILDING OF CONFIDENCE IN ETHIOPIA IN REGION AFTER SOMALIS ARE OUT. HARROP CLARIFIED THAT OUR TALK OF GUARANTEE IS IN TERMS OF SOMALIA DEPARTURE,

NOT THEIR REMAINING IN THE OGADEN. MOOSE CONCLUDED WITH EARLIER POINT THAT IT IS TOO EARLY TO STRONGLY CONDEMN SOMALIS IF WE WANT TO MAINTAIN SOME semblance OF LEVERAGE WITH THEM. IF WE HAD WANTED SIDE WITH SOMALIA, HE NOTED, WE WOULD HAVE DONE MANY THINGS DIFFERENTLY.

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PAGE 01 STATE 019755
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DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RLBARRY
APPROVED BY IO:ED MICHAL
S/S:DCAMP

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 019755

EXDIS

FOL RPT STATE 019755 SENT ACTION ADDIS ABABA INFO MOGADISCIO,
KHARTOUM, NAIROBI, LONDON, PARIS BONN & ROME DTD 25 JAN 78

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 019755

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ET, US

SUBJECT: AYALEW CALL ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 019755

RECOGNIZED AT HIGHEST LEVEL THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY BY STATING USWILL NOT RECOGNIZE FORCIBLE CHANGES IN BOUNDARIES. HE NOTED THAT WE HAVE NOT CONDEMNED SOMALI AGGRESSION BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO MAINTAIN SOME INFLUENCE ON THE OTHER PARTY TO THE CONFLICT. OUR EFFORTS HAVE BEEN CONCENTRATED ON TRYING TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED, ASSISTANT SECRETARY ADDED.

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 019755

AYALEW AND EPMG OVER FIVE-POWER MEETING HELD JANUARY 21
IN DEPARTMENT ON HORN. MOOSE EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS NOT
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PAGE 04 STATE 019755

5. AMBASSADOR CONTINUED THAT HE HAD IMPRESSION MANY
HERE FEEL CARTER OVERSTATED HIS VIEWS JANUARY 12 AND
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INITIATIVE IN ATTEMPT HELP REFOCUS U.S. STATEMENTS BY SEEING BRZEZINSKI SINCE VANCE WAS OUT OF TOWN. HE SAID EPMG GOAL WAS NOT TO THROW U.S. OUT OF ADDIS BUT AGREED THERE WAS AN ELEMENT WHICH WANTS THIS. HOWEVER, MODERATES LIKE HIMSELF HAVE FOUGHT THIS TENDENCY. --- THE FASTER ETHIOPIA CAN REGAIN THE OGADEN, HE ADDED, THE FASTER WE CAN AGAIN BE TRULY NON-ALIGNED AS WE WANT. HE NOTED THAT ETHIOPIA IS ON THE EDGE OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND ONE CAN TALK GEOPOLITICS. BUT, HE ASKED, MUST ETHIOPIA BE SACRIFICED TO EASE WORRIES OF OTHERS OR CAN THE U.S. BE A STATESMAN-LIKE LEADER AND AVOID THIS? DOES THE U.S. WANT TO JEOPARDIZE ITS ROLE IN AFRICA TO HAVE A SOVIET-FREE INDIAN OCEAN? MUST WE LISTEN SO MUCH TO SADAT, SHAH, SAUDIS? HE CONCLUDED THAT ONE CANNOT UNDERESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE OF RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN ETHIOPIA TODAY BUT IT MUST NOT BE OVERINTERPRETED EITHER. ETHIOPIA WILL AVOID RUSSIAN DOMINATION IN THE LONG RUN.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 05 STATE 019755

PUT BEST FORM ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. AYALEW CONCLUDED THAT HE WOULD WORK TO END TO IMPROVE U.S.-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS.

7. AFTER STATING APPRECIATION FOR AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS, MOOSE ASKED WHAT IS PRIMARY CONCERN OF EPMG ABOUT U.S. POLICY. IS THERE A FEAR THAT WE ARE GOING TO JUMP IN AND AID SOMALIA? AYALEW SAID THAT WAS ONE FEAR AS U.S. GOOD INTENTIONS DO NOT TRANSLATE INTO FORM. HE

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VANCE UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE019755
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: KPGARLAND:JJ
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780036-0897
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780123/aaaaatlp.tel
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Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: cc5509e0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3715712
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AYALEW CALL ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE
TAGS: PDIP, PBOR, ET, US
To: ADDIS ABABA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/cc5509e0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014